1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

2. *Kwỵ'nõ'*

572 The kwỵ'nõ' differs radically from the hąpín relationship in lacking its manifold ceremonial and onerous obligations, for which it substitutes the boon companionship of young age mates.

The tie is formed exclusively by voluntary agreement during the final pepyé of an age class, specifically on the same occasion used for cementing the hąpín relationship. The candidates step into the brook, grasp each other standing abreast, jointly dive, and swim as far as possible below the surface of the water without relinquishing their grip. The two girl associates also become kwỵ'nõ' to a fair number of age mates at this juncture.

The term of address, irrespective of the sex of the person spoken to, is iykwỵ'nõ' (iy = the first person pronoun singular). Very often the term assumes the form iynõre (= re, the diminutive suffix).

The tie is reckoned indissoluble, at least in theory lasting until one partner's death; practically it is of importance only in youth, for persons over forty years or thereabout no longer use the above terms of address nor have I been able to note anything relevant to this bond at that time of life.

Kwỵ'nõ' are expected to be particularly good comrades, constantly accompanying and aiding each other—formerly, above all on war expeditions. In their speech and jesting they are unrestrained by the other's presence, and each may publicly reprove and make fun of the other as soon as he offers an opening. This is not resented as an insult, but considered a friendly service; no one takes umbrage at a kwỵ'nõ''s mockery.

572 837 The handsomest proof of true kwỵ'nõ' friendship consists in the occasional exchange of wives, but the women's consent is prerequisite. When all concerned are agreed, the matter is arranged quite unobtrusively, such friends being in any case in the habit of paying each other visits. If during such a visit the husband should be alone with his wife, he may say, "iynõre, I am going out for a while, you may remain here." The recipient of such courtesy is subsequently obliged to repay the favor in the same fashion. Such exchanges are invariably temporary and in no way affect the permanence of the marital tie. Though no blame attaches to the participants, the arrangement is made as inconspicuously as possible, so that its frequency cannot be definitely determined. It is probably rather rare, for it implies reciprocity and the refusal of one of the wives suffices to frustrate the project.

The institution certainly has nothing to do with either "promiscuity" or prostitution in our sense. The wives concerned do not receive the slightest gift, nor is wife exchange the main object of the kwỵ'nõ' tie, for in former times the pepyé entering this relationship were still unmarried, as they still are with but a few exceptions.

838 I have never seen or heard of any homosexual aspect of this type of friendship. Characteristically our Canella have turned the usage into wife exchange rather than into homosexual excesses.

Kinship Terms

601 (*Note.* The prefixes id- and i- are first person singular possessives; the suffix -re is diminutive; -ti, augmentative; i-, feminine; -tum denotes old age, -ndúwu, youth; -ye remains problematical, but occurs with nouns denoting social groups. There are no distinctive vocative forms.)

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BLOOD RELATIVES

Ascending Generations

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,ɛ̃ɛ̃	my father, father's brother, father's sister's son, (mother's sister's husband)
i-nɛ̃ɛ̃	my mother, mother's sister
kɛ̃de-ti	mother's brother, mother's father, mother's sister's son older than ego (last meaning probable, not certain)
kɛ̃de-re	father's father
tɛ̨i-re	father's sister, father's sister's daughter, father's mother, mother's mother, (father's brother's wife), mother's sister's daughter

Ego's Generation

i-hɛ̨	my older sibling, older child of father's brother
i-tõ	my older sibling (it is not clear how far this is synonymous with preceding term)
ayo'hɛ̃'u-re	younger sibling, younger child of father's brother

(For father's sister and mother's sister's children, see under Ascending Generations; for mother's brother's children under Descending Generations.)

Descending Generations

i-kra	my son, my daughter, sister's child (w. sp.), (my wife's sister's child), my mother's brother's child, my brother's child (m. sp.)
i-tɛ̨m-ɛ̃wɛ̨'	my sister's son (m. sp.), my daughter's son (m. sp., w. sp.), my mother's sister's son younger than myself, my brother's son (w. sp.), my son's son (m. sp., w. sp.), my mother's brother's son (w. sp.)
i-tɛ̨m-ɛ̃wɛ̨'i	my sister's daughter (m. sp.), my daughter's daughter (m. sp., w. sp.), my mother's sister's daughter younger than myself, my brother's daughter (w. sp.), my son's daughter (m. sp., w. sp.)
i-yapá-ln	synonym of i-tɛ̨m-ɛ̃wɛ̨'i (apparently for all meanings)
i-yapal-ɛ̃wɛ̨'i	my brother's daughter (w. sp.) (only meaning recorded)

AFFINITIES

i-piyɛ̃'	my husband
i-prõ	my wife
pɛ̨i-kɛ̃'t	wife's father
i-mpɛ̨yɛ̃'	my wife's brother, wife's sister, wife's brother's child
krɛ̃'tum-yõ	husband's father
i-wawɛ̨'	my son-in-law (m. sp., w. sp.), my sister's husband (m. sp., w. sp.)
i-piyõyɛ̃'	my father's sister's husband, my son-in-law (m. sp., w. sp.), my sister's husband (m. sp., w. sp.) (evidently largely synonymous with foregoing)
i-ɛ̃wɛ̨'i-yõ	my son's wife (w. sp.), my brother's wife (w. sp.)
hɛ̨-ɛ̃wɛ̨'i-yõ	my son's wife (m. sp.), my wife's mother
tokt∫'i-yõ	husband's sister

As pointed out in a preliminary report (Nimuendajú and Lowie, 1937, 575 f.), the classification of the paternal uncle with the father, of the brother's children with one's children (m. sp.), and other features correspond to the "bifurcate merging" or "classificatory" type of nomenclature. Especially noteworthy is the overriding of the generation factor in classing the father's sister's daughter with the paternal aunt—a peculiarity shared with the Crow type in North America.

The Life Cycle

PREGNANCY

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As soon as a woman becomes aware of pregnancy she and her husband are subject to a definite diet and mode of behavior. Neither must gnaw leg bones lest the infant suffer a major umbilical rupture; and the woman must abstain from pure tiúba honey, which she may consume only with an admixture of manioc flour lest there be a miscarriage or, as the Indians put it, lest "the child [fetus] dissolve in blood."